l: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

and his mother was very careful to avoid holding food over him, as any food that touched his head must be discarded. My informant Victoria inadvertently carried sweet potatoes in her child's hat and was obliged to throw them away because they had come in indirect contact with the child's head. When a child was old enough to marry, his head was no longer sacred.

Modern children have a carefree existence, perhaps not very different from that of old days. They gather near the beach and spend the entire day playing or swimming in the sea. They are particularly fond of riding and are excellent horsemen from an early age. Some of them accompany their parents in shore fishing, and I knew a little girl 11 years old who caught fish with a small spear. Young children help their parents, and many fathers are pleased to rid themselves of all work and to transmit it to their sons.

SECLUSION

Legends tell of girls who were kept in seclusion (*huru*) inside huts so that they might acquire a fair complexion. When they appeared in public later, they aroused great admiration for the whiteness of their skin. According to one popular Easter Island tale, the girl in seclusion was daily washed (*hopu*), deloused (*aruke kutu*), combed (*harihari*), stained (*akui*) with turmeric and red earth, and her clitoris was stretched (*haro matatuu*) so that it would be long and hanging.

Easter Islanders pointed out to me two caves in Poike which were said to have been inhabited by *neru*, boys and girls who were separated according to sex and were secluded by their parents in caves where they lived for years. They were probably of chiefly families and, as in Mangareva, were isolated in order to become white and stout and to manifest by their appearance the distinguished position of their families. Attendants of their own sex cared for them. Their parents brought them food, and it is said that during the smallpox epidemic of 1863 many of the *neru* died of starvation because there was no one left to feed them. They lived in idleness and allowed their nails to grow long. It may be recalled that the wooden hand, purchased by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 582-583) on Easter Island and given by him to the British Museum has long nails, thus proving the accuracy of at least part of the tradition. The *neru* sometimes appeared at feasts but stayed a little apart from other people. The fact that the secluded boys and girls lived in chastity induced the natives of later times to translate the word *neru* as virgin, nun, or women observing celibacy. The following songs refer to the *neru*:

Ka huru koe, neru e, i te ana.	You are secluded, O *neru*, in the cave.
Tautau ipu kiea o nga neru.	Hanging is the gourd with red ocher of the *neru*.
Tuai era ka huru koe, neru e.	You have been secluded for a long time, O *neru*.
A te manava he mate,	I am in love,
Ka huru koe, neru e,	You are secluded, O *neru*,
Ka huru kataia ritorito.	Being secluded you have become white.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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try to prostitute themselves to foreign visitors, and their playmates act as go-betweens.

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Roussel (190, p. 429) speaks with disparagement of the "shameful laziness" of Easter Island girls until they were married. Probably here, as in Mangareva, young people of both sexes lived an easy life until they had to support a family. In the seclusion houses they probably spent their days lying on the ground, composing songs, telling stories, discussing their dreams. Some young men engaged themselves as workmen for a salary consisting of one or two rats and a few sweet potatoes. Others helped the adults to till and plant, but they did not accompany them on fishing parties—probably because they were afraid of spoiling their complexions through exposure to the sun (190, p. 10).

ADOPTION

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Adoption of children has always been widely practiced on Easter Island. Nothing expresses more strikingly the strength of the old custom than the fact that my informant, Victoria Rapahango, who lived many years with an Englishman and bore him several children, gave one of them to an old Italian with whom she was on friendly terms. It is not known to which relatives or friends the children were given formerly; now they are generally entrusted to the godparents. If the child's new parents can feed him, he is given to them a few days after birth; otherwise, he is given after weaning. The adoptive parents treat the child as if he were their own. Roussel (190, p. 466) observes that " . . . the adopted children were put on the same rank as the legitimate. They were entitled to the same care and the same attentions." This attitude continues today.

The child takes the name of his adoptive parents and inherits from them. Much difficulty has arisen in tracing genealogies because adoptive parents will not permit a distinction to be made between their own and adoptive children. "I have raised him and consequently he is my son" is a statement frequently heard on Easter Island. The blood parents take no interest in the children they have given away; they see them rarely and lavish no particular tenderness upon them.

SEXUAL LICENSE

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The accounts of early travelers indicate that the first reaction of the natives on the arrival of a ship was to barter food and women. By the first half of the nineteenth century Easter Islanders seem to have built up a regular trade with their women (p. 36). However, the small number of women seen by the navigators makes it evident, as Cook suggests, that most of the feminine population had been hidden somewhere (p. 20). Probably fear was one of the main causes for these precautions, but we may assume that the same sexual freedom was not permitted to all women. Those who were allowed and even

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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562 urged to prostitute themselves were probably unmarried girls or women belonging to a lower class. Wives of chiefs, priests, or jealous men were probably obliged to remain hidden while visitors stayed on the island.

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837 There has been little change in Easter Island morals. Every foreigner who comes ashore is the object of the most provocative offers on the part of the women, assisted by the men. Prostitution is considered a great source of profit by both sexes and is practiced not only with foreigners but among the natives themselves. An elderly man may have sexual intercourse with girls of 12 or 13 years whom he pays for it. Some women who are no longer attractive take as lovers very young boys to whom they give presents or make an offer to reveal the secrets of sexual life.

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[431] Despite the intense religious feeling of the islanders and the efforts of the catechist, sexual life is extremely free, usually with no restrictions whatever. Apparently love intrigues are short and devoid of sentimental background. Unions between young people are temporary and little jealousy, if any, is shown. Handsome young men who are good dancers are evidently favorites of the women. Gifts play an important part in love affairs.

836 Missionaries allude to the great "immorality" of the natives and complain that the pagan feasts, especially those that lasted a long time, were occasions for great license (230, vol. 6, p. 122). Geiseler (87, p. 29) writes:

> There are many cases of young girls remaining unmarried and belonging to the community, and they were highly valued . . . Even girls betrothed in childhood were to the moment they went to live with their husbands entirely free and might dispose of their persons without provoking scandal. In many instances girls had at least five permanent lovers. With the scarcity of women and the great number of men obliged to remain bachelors, such a condition is easily understood.

838 Pederasty does not appear among adults and no instance of such sexual aberration has been referred to by any inquirer. On the other hand, abnormal sex relationships between women is tolerated and accepted. Such relationships are between middle-aged women who are unattractive to men, and young women whom they have seduced. No other sex abnormalities have been reported.

Marriage

Marriage Laws

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[835] When asked about marriage restrictions, the islanders would say only that *taina* (cousins) may not marry unless they are *taina haihai* (remote cousins). Relationship between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law was considered incestuous. Degrees of relationship permissible in marriage have been accurately established by Routledge (228, vol. 2, pp. 144-145):

> Brother and sister were two degrees apart, first cousins were four degrees, second cousins six degrees, and third cousins eight degrees, a method, I may point out, evidently based upon counting from one of the related persons up to the common ancestor, and then

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

but always of another group; he plants for you, he works for you. Every group has its *tumu*." The Hamea and the Raa were pointed out to me as being the *tumu* of the Miru. Victoria told me that the Miru was the *tumu* of the Tupa-hotu, Ureohei, and Marama, as they might intermarry; but later, in speaking of the subgroups or families of the Miru, she explained that the Tekena were the *tumu* of Ureokao (both subgroups of the Miru), because they intermarried.

A *tumu* may be defined, as Routledge surmised, as "a group of people into which a man may marry." However, I was told that there were also *tumu* with whom it was impossible to contract blood alliance "because they lived too near your house. When they lived as near as parents or friends, intermarriage was impossible even though they were *tumu*." From the definitions received, I deduce that *tumu* were people of one tribe who stood in a special relation to people of another. I cannot establish any relationship between the lineages in the different *mata*. It is not clear whether marriage was obligatory or only customary between the *tumu*. Marriage was forbidden to members of two *tumu* which were closely related by blood or perhaps by living together in the same family group. Routledge believed, as I do, that members of a group who settled in the territory of another were either related to the inhabitants by marriage or were captives. Such relationship would explain why my informants defined *tumu* as a group with which there existed marriage connections, or as a group obliged to work for another.

All of the present-day members of the Miru *mata* were pointed out to Routledge and me as being *ariki-paka* (noblemen) except the king of the island who was called the *ariki-mau* (principal *ariki*). It seems unlikely that every individual in such a large and powerful tribe should be considered an aristocrat even though belonging to the king's group. Probably the status of the ordinary members of the Miru was no different from that in other tribes, but some of the dignity and pride of the royal blood extended to the whole tribe, making it a little more aristocratic than the other tribes. Any member whose genealogy could be traced could claim direct relationship to the king's family.

In sum, the tribes (*mata*) of Easter Island seem to have been separate social groups made up of descendants of a common ancestor. They were thus, fictitiously perhaps, all related by tracing their origin to the king, Hotumatua.

There were no marriage restrictions among tribes, save those of the *tumu*. There is, however, a persistent tradition on the island that it is not proper for a man of another group to marry a Miru woman. Even now the natives believe that men who disregard that tradition are punished by physical disability. Tepano and Pakomio, who married Miru women, told me with great seriousness that by so doing they had exposed themselves to grave danger.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

the village. This representation is confirmed by Lisiansky's description (143, p. 56) of the same village, seen in 1803. Delano (5, p. 356) observed that along Hanga-roa Bay were a big house and many more of different form. 361

In 1866, most of the natives still lived in Anakena (81, p. 53) and in 1872 a number of them were in La Pérouse (145, p. 65). The missionaries first attempted to concentrate the population in Hangaroa and Vaihu (215, p. 453).

Geiseler (87, p. 40) noticed ruins of houses at the following places: on the south coast Hotu-iti, Rano-raraku, Hanga-te-tenga, Hanga-mai-iku, Akahanga, Vaihu and Vinapu; on the west coast Ahu-a-kapu, Ahu-te-peu; on the north coast Vai-mata, Hangoteo; Te Akaue, Anakena, Hanga-o-honu, Mahatua. The precipitous east coast, from Cape O'Higgins to Cape Roggeveen, bears no sign of occupancy although the presence of an ahu seems to prove that this coast was not entirely uninhabited.

The large village mentioned by Thomson (215, pp. 486-487) must refer to the houses between Tahai and Ahu-te-peu (village of Ana-o-hoka). There are remains of several houses, though some have been pulled down by Williamson-Balfour Company agents for stones to build their walls.

CLASSES OF SOCIETY

There were four grades or classes in the Easter Island society: *ariki* (noblemen), *ivi-atua* (priests), *matatoa* (warriors), and *kio* (servants or farmers). This schematic outline made by Roussel (190, p. 660) is only superficially exact. It does not indicate the actual position of the aristocracy and of the commoners and does not include the specialized groups like those of the experts (*maori*). 565

The ruler of the hierarchy was the principal high chief (*ariki-mau*) whom the missionaries and the present natives designate as "king of the island." As descendant of Hotu-matua by right of primogeniture, the king had great prestige which was increased by the sacredness of his person although his political influence was slight. The term *ariki-paka*, applied indiscriminately to all the Miru, expressed a real or fictitious relationship which every Miru could claim with the king's family (p. 126). The ancestors of several tribes were supposed to have been younger sons of Hotu-matua, but there is no evidence in literature or in modern traditions that the *ariki* title was held by tribes other than the Miru. Here there is a striking parallel with Mangaia where only one tribe established *ariki* titles (31, p. 103). On Easter Island, as on Mangareva, the commoners were called *hurumanu*. 643 619 554 565

KING

Information about the nature of kingship in ancient times has been derived from letters and reports of missionaries, especially the notes of Father Roussel, and from anecdotes and details remembered by native informants. According 643

lt Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

considered the motifs poor, he said to the unfortunate bearer, "Ka hoa ki ahu runga" (Go to the lower ahu). He criticized the form and size of the ear piercings and probably the ornaments worn in them.

The king's interest in the reading of the tablets by the *rongorongo* men and his knowledge of the script is discussed later (pp. 390-391).

ROYAL INSIGNIA

The legend of Rokoroko-he-tau (p. 130) tells how the people brought wreaths (*mukomuko*) and standards (*huhu*) to the first-born children of the king. Those who presented the first fruits to the young king Gregorio were accompanied by two files of boys holding branches of *hau*, peeled and stained dark. The symbolism of such ensigns is not known, but they were probably brought before the king as a token of respect. Natives still remember such sacred ornaments and tell how once each month the people went to Anakena to present the *ariki-mau* with *huhu* and *maru*. (Tepano insisted, however, that the presentation was made once a week.) My informant translated the word *huhu* as "standard" and described it as a pole with three to five small, red, white, or black sticks inserted into it. The ends of these sticks were decorated with cock feathers, and the top bore a long feather garland (*maru* ?). Similar ones are still made by the natives for trade. The *huhu* and *maru* were planted in the ground in front of the king's house and left there until they rotted. Standards, used as marks of honor and friendship, were carried before some of the early voyagers who landed on Easter Island (18, p. 128; 53, vol. 1, p. 281).

Te Haha, who in his youth was attached to the court of King Nga-ara, told Routledge (194, p. 242) that " . . . if the people wanted chickens, they applied to the Ariki-mau, who sent him with *maru*, and his visits were always attended with satisfactory results."

POLITICAL POWER

The king was not a ruler in the ordinary sense of the word. Roussel (190, p. 260) makes the following general statement concerning the king's influence in the political system of the island that seems to be very near the truth:

> In late times, although the kings were still surrounded with respect by the natives who considered their persons to be sacred, their authority was nil and entirely disregarded. It has passed entirely into the hands of the mata-toa [warriors] who decided everything and carried on the war without beforehand consulting his majesty.

Thomson (215, p. 473) states that the ancient government was an arbitrary hereditary monarchy. The king ruled over the entire island and was never involved in intertribal wars. "Disputes were settled by the king without regard for law or justice. No great homage was paid him and no tax was expected of the people."

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 The *ariki-mau* was respected because of his mana, his influence over nature, and the magic connected with his person, but he was certainly not a ruler or civilian chief. As a direct descendant of the first king who settled on the island and thus of the gods, the *ariki-mau* had a status superior to that of other chiefs or heads of tribes, but he probably had little authority over them. Though the king did not interfere in the intertribal wars, he may occasionally have acted as mediator in quarrels. His lack of real power and exalted position is shown by the following historical incident which took place just before 1862:

> The Ngaure tribe defeated the Miru whom they took as slaves (*mata-kio*). The king, his son Kamakoi, and his grandson Maurata were held in captivity in the territory of the Ngaure and were not rescued until a few years later by the Miru who had in the meantime united with the Tupa-hotu.

In view of all available evidence, kingship on Easter Island may be defined as follows. The king was the man with the most aristocratic pedigree and the most exalted social position on the island. His person was overflowing with mana and his sacredness caused him to be feared and respected. His function in society was to insure through his very being the abundance of crops and the fertility of the ground and to exercise his influence on animal life. Certain religious activities were derived from his sacredness and he held supervisory control over various practices connected with religion.

Priests

793 554 [565] Very little information is available about the status of priests (*ivi-atua*) (family of the gods) except that, according to Roussel, their social rank was next to that of the *ariki*. They were feared and respected, and the attitude of the common people toward them was probably similar to that observed toward the king or other high chiefs. The fact that native traditions, referring to certain important ceremonies, insist that these were performed by *ariki-paka*, implies that some high priests belonged to the families of kings. Very few allusions to *ivi-atua* are made in legends, but by analogy with Mangareva and the rest of Polynesia, we may suppose that they had a great deal of influence and played an important part in the history of the island. Their power and prestige seem to have been annihilated before the missionaries came, since they made no opposition to the introduction of Christianity. Accounts by the missionaries do not allude to them.

Experts and Craftsmen

463 An expert in any profession is called *maori*. The chanters or reciters of genealogies were *maori*, as well as the carvers of the big images, and the wood cutters. The common Polynesian word *tahunga* seems to have been known formerly, but it is not in the modern language. *Tahonga* is a formative

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Clubs

LONG-HANDLED CLUBS

The long club (*ua*), which is still carved on Easter Island as a curio, was both a weapon and a parade staff for chiefs. Roussel (190, p. 426) includes them among the usual weapons of the natives, but Thomson (215, p. 475) asserts that the *ua* "was carried as a bâton of office before the chiefs and used only for that purpose." Geiseler (87, p. 34) says that the *ua* were carried during walks or to meetings. I was told that they were used as badges of dignity.

The *ua* (fig. 5, *a*) is a long staff, the cross section of which is a flattened ellipse. The upper end is decorated on both sides by bi-fronted human heads with eyes of bone and obsidian. The forehead is high and crossed by curved ridges, representing hair. The cheek bones protrude and have a crescentic form; the mouth, narrow and long, is slightly in relief. In the lobes of the ears, plugs of wood or bone are carefully indicated. The staff widens toward the distal end where it is somewhat flattened and has blunt edges. The distal end is slightly curved.

In Bishop Museum there are two specimens of old *ua* (B3689, B3690) and 16 more modern ones. The largest *ua* in the collection is almost two meters long, but it is of recent date and shows the tendency of the islanders to exaggerate the size of their modern productions.

Suitable pieces of wood for making *ua* were exceedingly rare on the island. This is manifest in the crookedness of many specimens. Holes or knots in the wood were painstakingly filled with small plugs cut to fit. These precious ceremonial weapons were kept in sheaths of bulrushes and were preserved as carefully as the wooden images. Two specimens of these sheaths with *ua* in them are preserved in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge.

SHORT-HANDLED CLUBS

The chief weapon for hand-to-hand fighting was a short, heavy, wooden club called *paoa*, the handle of which was carved in the form of a human head or of a lizard. The principal varieties of these clubs are illustrated in figure 6.

Tepano believed that carved wooden images of lizards (*moko*) were clubs, and to support his belief he quoted a tale in which a hero knocks down demons with a *moko*. Geiseler (87, p. 37) found an analogous tradition and states that the *moko* served principally to defend houses and to expel intruders from the door. As figures of rats or lizards were stood on either side of the door, it is possible that they were occasionally used as weapons.

Wooden Swords

The modern natives manufacture wooden swords for trade with passing ships. No mention is made by early travelers of the use of such weapons, and

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

ship, recognized the women by their skirts. Women's waist cloths are represented as long in the drawings of La Pérouse and Choris. The waist cloth may sometimes have passed between the legs and become a *maro*. Poor women substituted mats for tapa, for Palmer (168, p. 280) mentions as a woman's garment "a petticoat of grass matting, which reached to the ankles."

A tale alludes to a *taura-renga*, "a belt stained with turmeric" that is removed before a woman beats and soaks tapa cloth. The stone image in the British Museum is said to have been adorned by such a belt; supposedly a rite in which this belt played a part was performed in the presence of the statue. Brown's statement to this effect (27, p. 112) was denied by the very informant who was alleged to have told it to him.

Cloaks

The most conspicuous native garments, worn by both men and women, were the large painted robes (*kahu, nua*) that were thrown over the shoulders and covered the back. These cloaks, made of small sheets of tapa sewn together, were tied in front of the neck or over the right shoulder with a knot or a string (145, p. 66; 130, pl. 11). Sometimes wearers joined "the edges of the cloak by holding them together in their hands and thus draped themselves according to their taste and the length of the cloth" (230, vol. 5, p. 664; see also 49, pl. 11, fig. 2).

Robes were stained yellow or orange with turmeric. The ones on which the dye was spread by spitting the turmeric were called *kahu roroi*. Roggeveen (186, p. 13), who erroneously supposed these colors to be mineral, remarks that the dye was not fast "for when felt about and handled one finds the colour comes off on one's fingers, not only after touching new articles but also from old and worn ones." The painted border of a *nua* was called *pakipaki*.. Some cloaks were particularly famous for their quality and the beauty of their stain. Tradition has it that when Tuu-ko-ihu coveted such a robe, which was worn by a warrior, he succeeded in getting it through magic.

Cloaks varied in length according to the status of the individual; those of chiefs fell down to the knees. However, cloaks were more commonly worn by women than by men, for whom they generally expressed wealth. Ancient clothing had already been discarded when Geiseler (87, p. 29) was told that the making of these robes required so much work that they were extremely valuable and that only the chiefs and kings could afford to wear them. Though this tradition is exaggerated and probably refers only to the large and beautiful cloaks, it explains why the use of this garment was not general. The best tapa robe in existence is kept in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (64850). This specimen, 1.69 by 1.21 cm., is formed of three layers of tapa sheets sewn

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

291 The headdresses I have seen are all made of chicken feathers. Most of them are
287 black, but some are made of yellow, red, brown, speckled, and white feathers, used alone or in combination. In many headdresses the feathers are assembled without any modification, chosen so as to be of equal length. Sometimes the feathers are split lengthwise (Bishop Mus., 5448, Vienna 22784 and 22785) or trimmed even at their outer ends. The feathers project 200 mm. from the frame in two of the Vienna specimens (22877, 22879) and 120 mm. in the largest of the Bishop Museum circlets (5969). The usual width of the feather brim is 120 mm.; 40 mm. may be considered a minimum (Vienna 22874).

One feather circlet (Vienna 22872) has a frame made of six coils reaching a depth of 57 mm. Five of these coils carry short, split, black feathers with the seized ends set obliquely against the foundation so that feathers are closer to them than usual. The feathers of the upper coil are set radially, the seized part being at right angles to the coil. Each of these feathers is prolonged by a supplementary feather tied at three places near its end, so that the total length of these projecting feathers is 310 mm. A similar headdress is preserved in the Museum of Munich (diameter of circlet 148 by 190 mm.).

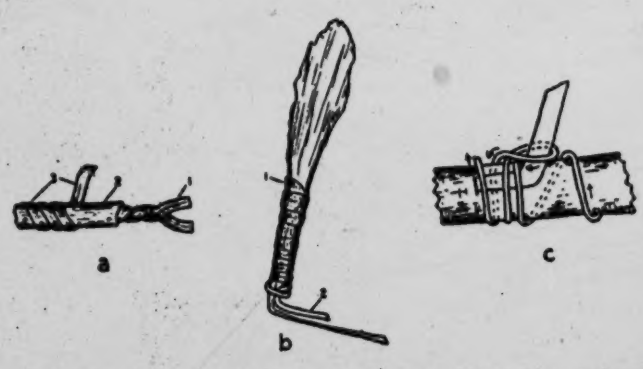

FIGURE 24.—Techniques of feather headdresses: *a*, foundation with central cord (1) of *hau* bast 4 mm. thick, with longitudinal wrapping of paper mulberry bast (2) and outer spiral wrapping of paper mulberry bast (3); *b*, bunch of feathers with lower ends wrapped in strip of paper mulberry bast 10 to 20 mm. long, with commencement buried under wrapping turns (1) and end of wrapping (2) tied in half hitch, feathers and bast strip bent at right angles; *c*, lashing of feather bundles to foundation with string of *hau* cord.

291 There are different kinds of circlets characterized by the length, the color, or the arrangement of the feathers. Each, known by a special name, was worn on specific occasions and often had a symbolic meaning. Geiseler (87, p. 52) and Thomson (215, pp. 535-536) have recorded the names of many of the old circlets in addition to some information concerning their special uses:

291 *Hau hichie* were circlets made of five or six superimposed coils to which feathers
554 from the wings and tails of black hens were fastened. The feather ends were trimmed, with the exception of a row of long black feathers which were fixed on a coil at wide intervals. These large and heavy headdresses were worn by chiefs at feasts and were insignia of high office. Often they were kept in place by a strap of tapa cloth under the chin.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

There is a common tradition on the island that the *rei-miro* were worn especially by women at feasts. However, they were also insignia of the king and other men of high rank. The king appeared in the ceremonies with two *rei-miro* hanging on his breast and two others on his shoulders. The *rei-miro* of the women were smaller than those of the men and were called *rei-mata-puku* (chicken embryo).

The first visitor to speak of the *rei-miro* is Palmer (171, p. 171): "At their dances the men wore a gorget made of hard wood, lunate in shape, and

FIGURE 28.—Crescentic breast pendants (*rei-miro*): *a*, wooden pendant 690 mm. long, 120 mm. in greatest width (B3624); *b*, wooden pendant 240 mm. long (Ratton coll., Paris); *c*, whalebone (*rei-taoraha*) pendant 576 mm. long, 174 mm. wide, front bulges along upper edge, suspension holes at ends (B3578).

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Wooden Balls

Wooden balls, called *tahonga*, were apparently feminine ornaments worn around the neck, on the breast, and on the shoulders. But Tepano, under the direction of old men, drew a figure of the *poki-manu* (initiated boy ?) with *tahonga* hanging down his back. Tepano also told me that the king had the privilege of wearing six such pendants simultaneously, three in front and three in back, and that other men were adorned with these balls on certain occasions. However, these exceptions may well be misunderstandings or erroneous statements. *Tahonga* were tied in pairs with a rope of woman's hair and were thus suspended around the wearer's neck. Many *tahonga* have been collected by visitors, and the natives still carve them to sell as curios.

The rounded shape, slightly elongated at the lower part, ends in a conical tip and resembles a coconut. The resemblance is accentuated by four ridges which meet at the bottom of the pendant and diverge toward the top to form four arches (fig. 27, *d*, 2). Some authors advance the theory that *tahonga* are imitations of coconuts that grew in the homeland of Easter Island ancestors. The supposition finds no support in native tradition and the resemblance of *tahonga* to the nuts may well be fortuitous. At the upper end of the ornament there is a slight projection which is perforated for a string to pass through. This is sometimes carved into the form of a human head, single or double, or into the head of a bird. A *tahonga* in the Musée missionnaire at Braine-le-Comte (187, fig. 3) has two "eyes" of obsidian set in rings of bone inlaid on each side of the projection.

Some *tahonga* are very small. In Bishop Museum there is one 78 mm. long and 47 mm. wide. The British Museum has a wooden ball which may be considered a *tahonga* (fig. 27, *d*, 1). It has a circular flange at the top, the upper surface of which is cut down to about 5 mm., leaving a round central projection which is transversely perforated for a cord.

Carved Wooden Pendants

Turtle head ornaments. The wooden turtle head (*honu*) has the general form of the *tahonga* (fig. 29, *a*). The eye is surrounded by a band decorated with chevrons and the eyeball is represented by concentric circles in relief. In the central cavity which represents the pupil, a piece of obsidian has been inserted, probably at a recent date. The mouth is crossed by a series of inlaid slanting lines. The same hollowed lines run lengthwise along the entire head, imitating the wrinkles of the turtle head. The nape and the throat are excavated so that the jaws protrude. A suspension hole is pierced through the top of the head. There is little doubt that such tortoise heads were worn about the necks in the same fashion as the *tahonga*.

Human foot. It is impossible to ascertain whether the wooden pendant in the form of a human foot (fig. 29, *e*) was an amulet or merely an ornament with no supernatural value. Perhaps the foot figured is only a fragment of a wooden statue, transformed into a pendant by grinding off the broken part.

Octopus. The octopus (*heke*), esteemed as food, fired the imagination of native artists who not only carved its figure in wood but represented it in the petroglyphs and on the signs of the tablets.

Bishop Museum has a frngment of an old wooden octopus image (fig. 29, *b*). The tentacles have been broken off, but the animal is easily recognized by the oval shape of its body and the position of its eyes. The eyes are made in the traditional way with a bone ring and a piece of obsidian and inlaid in both lateral and circular projections on either side of the head. The image is double and the two identical figures of octopuses

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Easter Islanders who wanted to increase their poultry so that they might celebrate a feast (*koro*) had the *ariki-paka* make a charm which contributed to the rapid increase of chickens. When invited to eat chicken meat, the priests received the rump (*huahua*) of the bird.

BIRD CULT

Until the second half of the nineteenth century the annual feast of the bird man (*tangata-manu*), held at Orongo, was extremely important to Easter Islanders. The rites performed were not only connected with the cult of the greatest god of the island, Makemake, but were endowed with special social significance, since ideas of prestige and economic privileges were closely associated with these ceremonies. The ostensible purpose of the ceremony was to obtain the first egg of the *manu-tara* (*Sterna hirundo*, sooty tern), the quest for which was entrusted to servants (*hopu*). The chief whose servant discovered the first egg received the envied title of bird-man (*tangata-manu*). This title, surrounded with tapus, brought to its holder and to members of his lineage certain material advantages and vast moral and religious benefits.

The far-reaching significance of the bird cult is illustrated by the extensive remains at Orongo, one of the most interesting archaeological sites on the island, and by the frequent use of bird and bird-man motifs in all forms of Easter Island art—tablets, wooden images, petroglyphs. The importance of birds in Easter Island culture and the use of birds as the basis for a religious cult are undoubtedly due to the poverty of the island fauna in which birds were the only conspicuous creatures. Not only were they the most interesting living thing next to man, but they contributed thousands of eggs for food.

The bird cult did not die out until about 50 years ago, long after the introduction of Christianity. Almost all recent visitors to Easter Island have studied the bird-man cult. Consequently there is a mass of contradictory material. Routledge, realizing the essential part this cult must have played in the ancient religious and social life, devoted much attention to it, and interviewed the last man who had participated in the ceremonies at Orongo. My information was gained mostly from Tepano, who was well acquainted with some details because his uncle was one of the last bird-men. The information he gave substantiates that gathered by Routledge and adds a few more details.

Orongo

The ceremonies and feasts connected with the bird cult were performed at Orongo, on the slopes of Rano-kao at the southwest point of the island. The village of Orongo lies on the narrow ridge separating the sea from the crater lake. It was temporarily occupied at the time of the yearly feast and deserted the rest of the year.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

of the English manager of the company which owns the island. At Mataveri the people who were to participate in the ceremony gathered for some time (Routledge says for a month) and spent their leisure time feasting and dancing. A big hut was built there, and great uprights were planted like columns in the ground. One of them is still standing, another has fallen which has one side carved like the back of a big image. Other such blocks and a huge basin stand in the Residence garden.

Feast of the Bird-man

The feast began in the austral spring (probably September or October), when *manu-tara* were nesting on Motu-nui. Only dominant, victorious tribes took part in the quest for the egg and the attendant ceremonies, for the privileges at stake were too important to be vested in an inferior or defeated group (*mata-kio*). The victorious warriors (*mata-toa*) who were entitled to live at Mataveri while awaiting the coming of the *manu-tara* were frequently referred to under the collective name of *ao* (*ka oho Mataveri ki te ao*; go to Mataveri to the dominant group), which means victory and consequently designates those who had obtained power over others through a successful military expedition. The word, in this sense, probably has no connection with the dance paddle, *ao*.

Routledge (194, p. 258) says that "only those belonging to the clan in the ascendancy for the time being could enter on the quest." That is, there was only one tribe who, for political reasons, had the privilege of performing the rites of the bird cult. The envied position was retained by this group for years, unless it yielded its rights to another friendly tribe. The jealousy provoked by this monopoly must have led to quarrels and even war. (See 194, p. 258.) However, it seems to me more likely that several powerful lineages participated in the egg race and the ceremonies. Roussel (190) clearly mentions a rivalry between several parties, and Routledge (194, p. 258) says that sometimes "clans" took part in the quest.

Routledge (194, p. 259) states that the preliminaries for the feast began almost a year before the discovery of the egg. She probably confused the time sequence and placed at the beginning activities at Mataveri which I believe occurred at the end of the feast. I was told that the feast began no earlier than January and perhaps even later. Possibly those attending the feast stopped at Mataveri on their way to Orongo. As my theory is supported only by my own reconstruction I will retain Routledge's scheme in the following description.

The people who were to take leading parts in the festivities left their villages to reside in Mataveri with their wives and children. There they lived in a big house or several houses, which were not destroyed until the second half of the nineteenth century. The long months of waiting were made joyous

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

sugar cane. To refuse to contribute food for the maintenance of the bird-man was an offence which could be punished by the burning of one's house. The bird-man dropped his old name and adopted a new one, mysteriously revealed to him; it became also the name of the year. Thus the bird cult was the basis for a convenient system of chronology.

All those who, like the missionaries, were on Easter Island when the bird cult was functioning, stress the violence which inevitably followed the selection of the bird-man. They imply that he had temporal powers similar to those of a chief. Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 256) states that the bird-man had "tyrannic power." "The defeated are shamefully relegated to a corner of the island where they starve and die because of cold. With the installment of the new power, burnings and plunderings start. Woe to the man who owns some sweet potatoes or chickens. The chief [bird-man] with his followers will fall upon the houses like birds of prey."

Gana (86, p. 33) was told, probably by the missionaries, that the bird-man was an "important chief whose functions last a year" and whose attributes were of a military nature. Roussel (190, p. 427) writes that the bird-man had authority for daily and nightly marauding and the fooling of the people and for "spending the year in continuous childish and wanton feasts." During the harvest feasts "the *mata-toa* [bird-men] left their caves of the Mataveri mountain," and swooped down like vultures upon everything which suited them (190, p. 428). Rarely did these feasts pass without trouble, since the *mata-toa* quarreled about the booty. The man who was designated by Make-make as bird-man for the year was entitled to a large share of the food distributed at feasts.

Routledge gives no hint of the military sway of the bird-man, such as implied by missionary accounts. Perhaps there is some connection between the acts of violence recorded by early observers and the statement by one of Routledge's informants that those who did not contribute food to the bird-man were punished by having their houses burned. Perhaps the bitterness of the defeat or the insolence of the victorious group led to serious arguments and even war. Evidence given by the last of the surviving contenders or by witnesses of the bird cult stress the dread consequences these contests had on the peace of the island.

The old men who informed Routledge gave her 86 names of bird-men; probably most of these names were also those of the years when each man was made *tangata-manu*. Routledge (194, p. 226) remarks that "chronological sequense was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the name of both winner and *hopu* were ascertained, with those of their respective clans." When Tepano's paternal uncle, Rue, became *tangata-manu*, he gave his bird-name,

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Rokunga[17], to his nephew. Tepano was born during the year Utupiro, thus named by a bird-man called Pua-arahoa, who chose the name Utupiro for himself and for the year. Tepano's account confirms Routledge's statement (194, p. 260) as to the nomination of the bird-man which she says "might be taken up at once or not for many years; if not used by the original nominee, it might descend to his son or grandson." 792 173

Tangata-manu were buried in a special ahu called Orohie which was not far from the house where the bird-men were secluded. The ahu, like all of this section of Rano-raraku, is in poor condition now. It was (194, p. 264) "a low rough wall built into the mountain, the ground above it being levelled and paved." When a *tangata-manu* died, five cocks were tied to each of his feet. People of all the tribes came with cocks, and *tangata-manu* of other years were present at the feast. They stood a little apart, not mingling freely with the other people, and untied the cocks attached to the dead man's feet. Presents of cocks were received by the son of the *tangata-manu*, but he could not eat them. The cocks which had touched the ground of the ahu where his father lay were especially tapu. 766 792

The tapus which surrounded the bird-man extended to the *hopu*. During the year following his discovery of the egg he could either go to Orohie or reside in his own house where he was obliged to live in a corner separated from the other people by a partition. The hand which touched the egg was so sacred that he could not use it in eating. His sacredness was contagious to his wife and his children who were also secluded and were not permitted to join other people. 792 784 778

The bird-man relinquished his retreat after one year, and the new bird-man took his place. He either concealed the old egg in a cranny of Rano-raraku, threw it into the sea, or preserved it to be buried with him. No tapus upon a *tangata-manu* after his seclusion have been recorded. 792 778

According to Routledge (192, p. 349) there was another search for eggs, several weeks after the first quest, entrusted to the *ao* who had settled at Mataveri. They went to Motu-nui to get the young *manu-tara* known as *piu* and to gather many eggs. These were put in baskets, tied to the foreheads of the swimmers, and thus brought to the land. They were taken around the island and, according to one account, as far as Orohie. Routledge (192, p. 349) writes: 796

> It was not until the *piu* had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, the period of commencement being known as "Toro", and they were then consumed by the Mata-kio only, not by the Mata-toa; the first two or three eggs, it was explained, were given to the god, to eat them would prove fatal. [262]
>
> Some of the young *manu-tara* were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied around the wing and leg and they were told: "Ka oho ki te hiva." "Go to the world outside;" there was no objection to eating the young birds.

[17] Rokunga, according to Routledge (192, p. 351), was the name of the last bird-man. The last feast was performed at Orongo in 1866 or 1867. To gain prestige, Tepano has probably applied to himself what he heard about the past. [554]

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Koro

574 431 554 The feast for honoring a living father, mother, father-in-law, or mother-in-law is called *koro*; it has survived until very recent times. I was told that the *koro* is still celebrated but I believe that the traditional *koro* has been displaced by a more familiar feast, also called *koro*. The *paina* and *koro* are very similar; some sources maintain that they are identical, differing only in the fact that the first was intended for a dead parent and the second for a living parent. But, since modern informants may have attributed to the *paina* some of the features of the more familiar *koro*, reservations must be made.

My principal informant, Juan Tepano, believed that the last *koro* was celebrated about 1886. But Victoria Rapahango, 36 years old, described to me the *koro* of her brother, at which she assisted when she was a young girl. The word *koro* means "feast" and I suppose that Tepano had in mind the old pageant festivities when he spoke about the disappearance of the *koro*. But *koro* also means "father" and is employed as a reverential term when speaking to an older man (*e koro e*).

574 431 602 554 A man celebrating a *koro* for his father presented himself on a fixed day before his relatives and friends with 200 or 300 fowls tied in groups of 10 to a long rope. He handed a fowl to his fathe... The father received it and picked out other fowls which he gave to each of his brothers, sisters, or cousins, both male and female. Sometimes the father presented fowls to some of his good friends. After this first distribution the father bestowed the remaining fowls upon his most beloved brother who was called the *motuha* and who ritually carried the fowls on his shoulders. This brother did not keep the birds, but presented them to his wife who passed them on to her brother. The brother gave them to his wife, and she in turn gave them to her brother and he to his brother-in-law. If brothers were lacking, the fowls were given to a sister or to a cousin, male or female on either the mother's or the father's side. If the wife of the *motuha* had no brother or cousin, she gave the fowls to her father or mother. The fowls were eaten when they had been given away five times. Then everyone wanted to have them and shouted, "ma aku, ma aku!" (for me, for me!). The man who gave a great *koro* was honored with the title of *tangata honui* (great man, generous). My informants and Roussel (190, p. 428) stress the fact that the man honored in a *koro* did not keep the food he received for himself or at least very little of it.

A return gift of fowls was made to the host of the *koro* on a later occasion through the same series of presentation. If the wife of the brother of the wife of the *motuha* received fowls from her son, the man who made the first *koro* would eventually get them. The following definite examples, given to me by informants, illustrate the preceding statements:

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Years ago, the father of Victoria made two *koro*, one in behalf of the father-in-law and the other in behalf of the mother-in-law of his son, Miguel Rapahango. He wanted to make his son "big" (*haka honui tama poki*). The brothers and closest relatives and his other sons and daughters each contributed fowls or some kind of food. All these presents were to be returned some day. The fowls given by the brothers were delivered to the brothers and cousins of Miguel's father-in-law, Emilio Paoa, who received the *koro*. The other fowls were given to Emilio who bestowed them upon his brother (*motuha*).

The feast was celebrated in the house of Victoria's father and there were more than 250 fowls bound to two ropes. In the same place there was a big earth oven or food gift (*umu parehaoga*). The *motuha*, on the same day, made another earth oven in his house and brought the food to the house of Victoria's father. The food gift of the *motuha* was called *umu motuha*. He gave the food to Miguel Rapahango, who presented it to his own father. The food taken out of the earth oven of the *koro* giver was delivered to the father-in-law and to the people who helped.

Victoria remembered quite well that Miguel's wife untied one fowl and gave it to her father, Emilio Paoa, who took the other fowls presented by the brothers and sisters of his son-in-law and distributed them among his relatives of the Paoa family. The other fowls, with the exception of 20, he delivered to his brother. The brother distributed the fowls among his family and friends because he had no wife or other brothers. Emilio Paoa gave some fowls to his *tumu*, who is a neighbor, a man of a tribe living close by.

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If the *koro* was celebrated for a mother-in-law, she gave the fowls to her brother, he to his wife, the wife to her brother, and so on. During the feast the people sang this song:

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I o te korongo mai nei	Here is the feast sung
I Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai	In Moana-vera-vera-ra-tahai (name of a place)
Rima turu, turu.	Hands raising, raising.

I asked Tepano to imagine that Beatriz, who was the wife of his son Jorge, made a *koro* for him. Tepano said he would give the fowls to his brother, Pakomio. Pakomio would present them to his wife and she to her brother. A cousin of Pakomio's wife could make a *koro* and the presents would come back in the same way. Sometimes a brother of the father-in-law of the *motuha* might give fowls to his brother, who in turn gave them to his wife; she delivered them to her daughter, the *motuha's* wife. The *motuha*, Tepano's uncle, would give the fowls back to Tepano.

As a rule one never made a *koro* for his brother or his cousins, but if one were an orphan he sometimes celebrated a *koro* for an elder brother. The present made in a *koro* was called *mee ravaa* (?) or *mahia*. A *koro* could be celebrated in honor of a dead father (*koro puoko mata*, feast of the dead skull of the father). The paternal uncle received it for the dead. The son who offered such a *koro* was assisted by his brothers, his cousins, and his friends.

There were no *koro* in winter because the earth ovens of the *koro* are "finished" (*umu koro huri*). The man who presented a *koro* during the month of July made a special earth oven which was called *umu anakena*. In it he cooked some fowls which he gave to the *motuha*. Tepano informed me once that the *motuha* could keep 5 or 10 fowls. They were called *haokuku*. The *motuha* brought to the feast from 20 to 50 fowls which he delivered to his

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

574 brother who in his turn gave them to his son. Sometimes they were given to
431 the wife of the man who made the *koro*; she passed them on to her brother or her father.

602 I was told that the son could give 5 or 10 fowls to his father on the
554 occasion of the *umu anakena*. The father distributed them among people who had helped him when he was hungry (in time of famine for instance). This present was called *moa haka kio* (to reward with fowls; literally, "fowls made prisoners").

During the feast of the *koro* the father or the mother praised the generosity of the son:

[539]

E poki koro nui e mooku mo te matua e (e nau e)
Son of feast great for me for the father (for the mother)

If he had already made a *koro* for one of the parents the formula would be a little different:

[539]

E poki koro nui mo maua ko mua e
Son of feast great for me and for your mother

431 The *koro* is closely related to a custom which is now prevalent in Easter
602 Island and which obliges the men to make presents to the brothers or the cousins of their wives. Generally it is only one brother or one cousin who receives these presents. I was told by all my informants that "the brother-in-law who is chosen is the best-liked one, and sometimes the others become jealous." A husband must also make presents to the sister of his wife. Every one who receives a present must make a return gift on a later occasion, and if he has self respect he will give more than he has received. The *mahia* or present to a brother-in-law or a cousin cannot be something made by one's self; it must be a gift obtained from a parent or a friend. As Tepano told me, "The one who gives you fowls, he only is your brother, only the fowls have value." That is, the symbolism of the gift stresses a close personal relationship between the giver and the cousin chosen as recipient. The *mahia* may also be a circulating present which passes through many hands according to the old *koro* system.

KORO HOUSE

345 In connection with the *koro* is always mentioned a big house, also called *koro*, where young people spent their time playing various games. This house was the material symbol of the generosity of the *koro* giver. Tradition has preserved descriptions of *koro* houses which were several hundred feet long and more than 20 feet high. Materials for the construction of the house were often provided by relatives or friends who aided the giver of the *koro* in his expenditures. Tepano said that *koro* houses were intended for young

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

and not bad looking, accompanied by an old man who only allowed them to expose their heads to look at us. They are all, as a rule, of agreeable aspect and shade of colour, which they modify by means of a very fine pigment of vermilion or red lead, with which they daub their features, although they do not all make use of it. The principal men, or those in authority, paint the whole of their bodies with some herb, or liquor, having a bright red hue, drawing great numbers of lines, pyramids, cocks, and most hideous masks [*rostros feisimos*], but all disposed in such order and symmetry that it would require the most dexterous pencil to imitate them. In particular they figure on the back a maze of convolutions with so much skill that it excited our wonder, not a dot nor a line from right side to left side wanting in regularity. On the vacant parts of the abdomen they depict two fearsome monstrosities [*rostros horrorosos*] which they call *pare*, and I believe they look on them with veneration, but they do not like one to touch them with the hand.

The young people do not paint themselves in this fashion, only a few of them have a collar of the same colour traced round the neck, and depending from it the figure of a small animal resembling a toad, or frog, which they call *cogé*.

The principal men, as well as the women, are extremely addicted to beg, and take with gladness whatever comes to their hands, without making any return; they show no resentment if deprived of their spoils: they are quite content with old rags, ribbons, coloured paper, playing-cards, and other bagatelles. Everything of a bright red colour pleases them greatly, but they despise black; they are so fond of taking other people's property that what one man obtains another will take from him, and he yields it without feeling aggrieved: the most he will do is to resist a little, then he loosens his hold of it and they remain friends.

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

136 seen in it. Even the marine species do not settle on its shores nor fly within sight of it: the same is the case with regard to beetles, insects, &c.

342 Most of the natives of the island dwell in underground caves, or in the hollow of some rock, the entrances to which are so narrow and inconvenient that I have seen some of them introduce themselves in the opposite manner to what is natural, beginning by projecting their feet and the head last. The more polished or powerful persons, whether in [554] virtue of their age or of authority, are held in esteem. These inhabit small huts covered with reeds [*totora*], and constructed in the form of a large tunnel, in whose bilge or bellying portion [*vientre ò bariga*] is the entrance, after the manner of a trap-door for cats' egress, so narrow that only one man can pass in or out at a time, and that with effort. Others (whom I believe to be their ministers) occupy dwellings close to the statues; these are built of earth below, but with an entrance way or porch of very roughly hewn and clumsily set up stones, after the fashion of a wall, with a certain number of steps for passing from one platform or surface of ground to another on different levels.

324 It is known that they work the stone, on which may be seen several different figures, squares, oblongs, arcs [*rumbos*], triangles, and trapezia, by means of another stone of harder substance than the mass, and the same method is followed, I believe, in fashioning the statues.

648 On the afternoon of this day during a rain squall with little wind from the S.W. our cable parted, having chafed completely through against a coral rock, fragments of which came up embedded among the strands of the two broken ends. We spent the evening in making ready for the succeeding day, on which we were to formally disembark and take possession of the island, and to erect upon it three crosses which had been got ready for the purpose on board the Commodore.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

some presents. We asked for his name, which he told us was Ko Tohetai; adding that he was *aree* or king. We were desirous of knowing whether he was only the chief of a district, or of the whole island; upon which he spread out his arms, as it were to include the whole island, and said *Waihu*. To shew that we understood him, we laid our hands on his breast, and, calling him by name, added his title, king of Waihu, at which he expressed very great satisfaction, and conversed a great deal with his people on that subject. He was a middle-aged man, rather tall; his face and whole body strongly punctured. He wore a piece of cloth made of the mulberry bark, quilted with threads of grass, and stained yellow with turmerick; and on his head he had a cap of long shining black feathers, which might be called a diadem. We did not perceive any great degree of homage or attention paid to him by the people; and indeed in so poor a country there seems to be nothing which he could have reserved for himself, without a manifest incroachment on the natural rights of mankind, which might have produced dangerous effects. When we wanted to continue our march he seemed to dislike it, and desired us to return, offering to accompany us; but seeing our officer determined to proceed at all events he desisted, and went with us. 1774. MARCH. 175 X 643 [291] [554]

"We marched to an elevated spot, and stopped a little while to take some refreshments, and to give Mr. Hodges time to draw some of the monuments, near one of which 175 X

we

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

rial, printed or plain, for the women. Shoes are worn on only special occasions of ceremony, as, for example, during our visit. On their heads both sexes alike wear hats, the material of which is either bulrushes or long, slender leaves, torn into narrow strips, braided and then sewn together spirally. In making these they are far behind other islanders, the Tahitians more especially, attributable mainly, however, to the want of proper material rather than to the lack of intelligence.

Crimes of any sort, but especially the graver ones, are of great rarity, and murder, at the present day, unknown. Petty thieving is common, is considered a venial offense, and the injured party seeks redress by stealing in kind, if possible, but in any event, stealing from the thief. There are no punishments, so called. Mr. Salmon, who is guide, philosopher, and friend to these people, unites in his person (and being a giant in stature, he can well contain them) the duties of referee, arbiter, judge. They entertain the greatest respect for him; evince the utmost affection; look up to him as their master; go to him with all their troubles; refer to him all their disputes and grievances. His word is law, and his decisions final and undisputed.

There is a schoolhouse in which the people are taught from books translated into Rapa Nui language by the priests formerly here, and most of the natives can read and write. The functions of pedagogue are performed, after a fashion, by Pakomeo, the survivor of the Peruvian captives, who is also a preacher among them and conducts the services at the little church. The form of salutation on meeting is kohomai, "come to me." The reply, koe, which means "thou," you, yourself. In Tahiti, Society Islands, and Rarotonga it is, la-ora-na, "may you live in God." In the Samoan group, kalofa, "love to you" and tofa, "may you sleep."

With regard to the burial rites, it may be stated that no particular respect is shown persons of rank while living; still less do they receive any special funeral ceremonies when dead. All are treated alike in this regard, on the principle, presumably, that death levels all. The period of mourning extends over three days, and the rites are simple enough. Nowadays the service of the church is usually invoked. The body is carried out of the house and removed to some distance, either in the open plain, or to one of the image platforms, or into a cave, where it is exposed to sun and air (incidentally, it may be mentioned, also to predatory rats and cats in a semiwild state, which roam the island in large numbers, the former especially) until either dry, decomposed, or partially devoured. In the caves the remains are then shoved into an out-of-the-way corner and walled in with loose stones. At the platforms they may be laid away under a gigantic prostrate stone image, or placed in an excavation, either in the face or floor of the platform, or simply put in a convenient spot and covered up with stones. On the plains a circular conical cairn, truncated at top, 6 to 8 feet high, and built of loose bowlders, is frequently erected over the remains. Often the bones

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

some twelve different authorities, of whom four had been bird-men, three had served as "hopu," and one had acted in both capacities. We had camps at both Mataveri and Rano Raraku, we visited Orongo more than twenty times with different native escorts, and we were three times on the islet of Motu Nui. The Expedition was over sixteen months on the island.

Easter Island is renowned for its gigantic images, many of which stood on the burial places round the coast and were erected on the slopes of the mountain whence they were hewn, while large numbers still remain in the quarries in an unfinished state. The why and wherefore of these things is lost in mist of antiquity. There is, however, another and less known cult of the island which survived till living memory; it is noteworthy for its own sake, and it is doubly interesting if it can be proved to have had at least some connection with the great statues: this is the Bird Cult.

The population of Easter Island was divided into ten clans or "mata," which are frequently spoken of in two groups, those of Kotuu and those of Hotu-iti, districts which may be simply if roughly identified with the Western and Eastern portions of the island; legend tells of fierce wars between the rival parties. The clan which was in the ascendency at any given time, or the "Mata-toa," had the right to obtain the first egg of a certain migratory sea bird, but two or more clans are often found combining; the members of other clans, or the Mata-kio, might be present in the capacity of servants. The Mata-toa had a claim on the Mata-kio for boat building and food planting and "they were afraid to refuse." How this primary position was originally attained it is not very easy to say, presumably by superior strength; it might be held for one year or for several in succession and was said to be passed on at will to a favoured neighbour. The selection gave rise at times to heartburning: it is told that a man of

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

the Marama clan set fire to the house of the head of the Miru clan because the Miru had given the coveted distinction to the Ngaure instead of to his own people. An aggrieved clan had its remedy through war.[1] The Mata-toa when taking part in the bird ceremonies are spoken of as the "Ao," thus "Miru te Ao" signifies that the Miru were the celebrants that year; the same name is given to an actual object in the shape of a large paddle used in dancing, the handle of which was adorned with a human face. The island is triangular in shape, with its apex to the north, and the bird ceremonies were especially connected with the western angle. This portion is formed by an extinct volcano known as Rano Kao, and in October the Mata-toa, or a certain number of them, men, women and children, took up their abode in a number of houses at the foot of the mountain on the landward side. The place is called Mataveri and the removal there was known as "Kaho Mataveri ki te Ao," or "to go to Mataveri for the Ao." The houses were made after the fashion of the island, as a superstructure of sticks and reed on a boat-shaped foundation of stone, and here great cannibal feasts were held; tradition relates that so big were the houses that one of the victims escaped by hiding in an extreme end. Similar gruesome feasts took place to the accompaniment of breaking waves in a sea cave near at hand, which still bears the name of "Ana-kai-tangata," or "Cave eat man"; the roof is covered with paintings of birds in red and white pigment, one of which is superimposed on a drawing of a European ship and cannot, therefore, be earlier than the eighteenth century. For

[1] Since writing the above Dr. Corney has located the interesting accounts of the first missionaries, published in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Their knowledge of the Bird cult is vague, but they were specially impressed with the tumult which resulted between different parties after the finding of the egg in the month of September. It must be remembered that their acquaintance with the island was subsequent to the disorganization caused by the Peruvian raid.